1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ing the course of that year. It can be planted anytime after the cold in mid-February and throughout March. The harvest then starts with the first cutting, about mid-May and throughout June. Once cut the crop grows again; in forty days it is ready for cutting. The third crop matures in about fifty days and the fourth in about sixty days. The last crop is harvested toward the end of November, before the cold weather and winds again set in.

Since sugarcane requires eighteen months to cultivate, the man who plants it instead of rice is usually one who has land enough—probably over one *chia*—to allow him to put a decent acreage into cane and still have enough left for crops which bring more immediate returns. And he must have enough capital or other means to finance his family during the long growing season of the cane.

Before the war, when the price of sugarcane was higher than it is today, many farmers in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area grew this crop. Now, however, few farmers are willing to tie up their land for one crop of cane when the fields, over the same period of time, could otherwise produce four different crops. Those few farmers in the area who have recently cultivated sugarcane have done so in the belief that it would bring a greater profit than they could get from rice. However, in 1958 they were disappointed when the low market price of sugar brought them even smaller profits than they would have realized from rice. Today, despite the coaxing and cajolery of agents of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, even these few farmers are loath to plant sugarcane, and the acreage devoted to cane in the area is steadily decreasing.

The third annual crop is grown during the winter when there is no irrigation water available. In Hsin Hsing village and the area generally, the crops cultivated are wheat, sweet potatoes, soybeans, or vegetables such as the green bean. All are crops which do not require much moisture and can tolerate the cold and the strong winter winds. In fact, wheat cannot withstand the hot and often wet weather of the spring, summer, and early fall of the first and second crop periods, but needs rather cooler weather.

THE VILLAGERS' VIEW OF THE CALENDAR AND THE AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

The basic traditional calendar in Taiwan is lunar, and lunar months are referred to here by numbers just as they are by the villagers. The more recent solar calendar is used when villagers refer to recently introduced legal functions such as school activities, tax collection, military conscription, and so on. Farmers almost always use lunar references when they discuss calendar dates for various agricultural

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

events, like the months in which crops are planted and harvested. However, for the dates of the equinoctial or seasonal changes which determine the earliest and latest times for planting a crop if it is to be harvested at the proper time, the villagers usually use Chinese "solar terms" (*chieh ch'i*).[1] These, unlike the lunar calendar dates, "indicate the position of the earth with reference to the sun and consequently the seasonal climatic changes" (Fei, 1939:145). The villagers, in using these solar terms, equate them with dates in the lunar calendar which vary from year to year. The use of such a solar term, Ta Shu ("Great Heat") is an example of this. Its approximate date in the solar calendar is July 25; in 1958 this solar date corresponded to the seventh day of the sixth moon of the lunar calendar. The villagers feel that the rice seedlings of the second crop should be transferred one week before to one week after Ta Shu. The villagers do not like to transplant at other times, although occasionally a lack of water will force a delay. Some, rather than delay beyond these limits, will give up and replace the rice with something else, such as a vegetable.

The agricultural cycle marks which months are busy and which ones are slack for the villagers. Below is a list of the months of the year and how the villager relates them to the agricultural cycle. Some of the events may actually encroach a good deal into other months, but the villager still associates certain months with certain agricultural processes. The months here are given first in the lunar calendar since, in speaking of actual dates, these are what the villager uses; their approximate solar equivalents follow in parentheses. Descriptions of activities are quoted from interviews with the farmers.

First month (mid-February to mid-March)

"This is a moderately busy month with many farmers harvesting their sweet potatoes and harvesting their third crop."

Second month (mid-March to mid-April)

"This is a busy month. The farmers plow their fields and prepare the fields for the transplanting of the first crop of rice which is done during this month."

Third month (mid-April to mid-May)

"This is a slack month. There is only weeding to be done in the fields."

Fourth month (mid-May to mid-June)

"This is one of the slackest months. There is no work in the fields, but only the checking of the irrigation water and the checking of the fields themselves."

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Fifth and sixth months (mid-June to mid-August)
"These are two of the busiest months of the year. The farmers harvest their first crop of rice and prepare the fields for the second crop of rice."

Seventh month (mid-August to mid-September)
"This is a moderately slack month with only weeding to be done in the fields."

Eighth month (mid-September to mid-October)
"This is a very slack month. There is no work in the fields other than checking irrigation water and the fields themselves."

Ninth to mid-tenth month (mid-October to late November)
"These again are two of the busiest months of the year. The farmers harvest their second crop of rice and some prepare to plant their third crop."

Eleventh and twelfth months (mid-December to mid-February)
"These are slack months. There is no work to be done in the fields. The farmers usually repair their houses, agricultural implements, and irrigation ditches during this time."

We note that what the farmer considers important enough to list on this monthly schedule are not only operations which consume a great deal of time and effort but also, and perhaps more important, the farming operations which harass him with deadlines and time limitations, like the planting and harvesting of the rice crops. Other operations are omitted from the farmer's listing. Thus, although he may actually be busier when cultivating certain vegetables, since he does the planting, harvesting, and marketing of vegetables without any hired or exchange laborers, he usually omits these operations from the monthly listing. There is usually no definite scheduling of vegetable crops and therefore no deadlines to meet.

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FARM IMPLEMENTS, OWNERSHIP AND EXCHANGE

The farmer does not need a great variety of implements and tools for his work. This was evident in a survey of the tools owned by eighty-seven village farm households in August, 1958. (See Table 11.) As might be expected, small and inexpensive tools which are used frequently are quite plentiful in the village. In fact, there is sometimes at least one such implement in each household, like the steel hoe, sickle, and bamboo baskets. Tools which have a limited use, even an inexpensive tool like the hand thresher, are found only infrequently in a farming household.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

796 769 Thus, most villagers sacrifice to the ancestors higher quality foods like pork, fowl (chicken, duck, or goose), fish, vegetable and soup dishes, steamed cakes, rice, and noodles. In addition, wine is offered, incense and paper money are burned, and firecrackers are set off. (On the occasion of other *pai-pai* held bimonthly, only minimum sacrifices of meat and fish, not fowl, are offered.)

The ancestral tablets indicate which ancestors should be worshipped. In addition, each religious family usually maintains a "remembrance board" as a reminder of the exact date on which to worship which ancestor. The death dates of all who must be worshipped are engraved on this board, which hangs on the wall of the ancestral-worship room. By relying on it, each family or group of related families is sure to fulfill its responsibilities to its ancestors. The board supplements the memories of the old people, who usually inform the family when it is time to worship some ancestor. [211]

Generally, a single ancestor is worshipped for about two or three generations, or as long as someone remains who remembers him in his lifetime. When no one remains who remembers him alive, he, together with other more or less forgotten ancestors from times long past, is worshipped only on one designated day of each year, and then perhaps by the *tsu*.

[805] The lunar calendar forms the base for the schedule of calendrical rituals—the *pai-pai* which are celebrated by the whole village on set days. One such important rite is the *pai-pai* for unworshipped, anonymous ancestors. Such forgotten and neglected ancestors wander about the countryside looking for sustenance, becoming negative powers or harmful spirits (*kuei*) which often make trouble for people. Although they are regarded as demons, the Taiwanese follow universal custom and refer to them euphemistically, calling them good brothers (*hao hsiung-ti*) to avoid antagonizing them.

Pai-pai for the good brothers are held regularly on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month by all the villagers of the area. On these dates each household worships individually, but outside of its house since "one does not invite negative powers or spirits into the *kung t'ing*." The sacrifices for this occasion are usually quite simple and consist of vegetable soups and perhaps some cut-up pork and/or fish. No fowl is sacrificed.

778 769 The villagers also tend the spirits of other unknown people. Skeletal remains dug up in a field may be placed in a small wayside temple; this is considered a "devil temple" but is euphemistically called a Yu Ying Kung Miao (temple of responding gods) and exists for the sole purpose of housing the bones and spirits of unknown people. The villagers annually go to the temple with sacrifices to feed the spirits of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

The district police office as well as the local officials in the district Public Office will also assume this function on an unofficial basis.

Chapter 6: Personal Relationships and Cooperation Within and Beyond the Village

[1] Some villagers even approached me with the hope that I might act as their leader. Because of their insistence, I did participate in a very minor way. The minimal participation, however, yielded extremely valuable insights into village interpersonal relationships. Also, after this occasion, I found most villagers much more willing to aid me in my research. For a more detailed discussion of my involvement in this case and the consequences to my field work, see my "A Case for Intervention in the Field."

[2] Several villagers also insisted that I be part of Hsin Hsing village's delegation. This turned out to be my only opportunity to attend any kind of mediation session.

Chapter 7: Life History of the Villager

[1] A woman's menstrual blood is also considered unclean, and a wash amah employed in a Chinese household is not expected to wash the mistress's undergarments if they have been stained with menstrual blood.

[2] This figure is based on the Chinese calculation of age. A child is said to be one year old at the time of his birth and two years old on the first Chinese New Year after his birth. This boy is therefore fourteen or fifteen by Western calculations.

[3] A somewhat similar kind of arrangement is reported by Robert J. Smith (1956:77–78) for Japan.

[4] If a woman dies before she bears a child or before a child is adopted into the family, her name is not recorded on the family ancestral tablet because she lacks descendants to worship her.

[5] In some instances when a family does not have daughters of their own they may take a "recognized daughter" (or a "recognized son") who in a sense is temporarily adopted and who will then come to mourn and worship at the funeral of her "recognized parents." The girl is usually the daughter of close family friends, and she will still worship her own parents. Sometimes a family may also give their girl as a recognized daughter if she is a sickly child and a fortune-teller recommends such action to avoid further illness.

Chapter 8: Religion and Magic in Hsin Hsing Village

[1] During 1957–1958 government troops were billeted in the temple and at the same time were renovating it.

[2] The belief in the ubiquity of Matsu's powers, however, is not universal among the Taiwanese. Norma Diamond, an anthropologist working in southern Taiwan in 1960–1961, has told me that Matsu is not considered

771 a villager in what otherwise might be an unpopular deci-
183 sion or action because he can then say the gods so order
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79 it.

Additionally, religious events are fun and along
182 with certain life crises events, almost the only periods
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796 of gaiety in an otherwise fairly drab existence. It appears, as suggested in Potter's conception of "The Limited Good," richer villagers do fear to practice conspicuous consumption (1965). One normally avoids coming to the attention of villagers, government officials, and gods, in order to avoid arousing feelings of jealousy, but rich food and drink is not only permitted but is strongly encouraged for holidays. It is proper to offer expensive foods to the gods and whatever is left over when the gods finish can be eaten by anyone without fear of censure. Indeed, it should be shared with guests for jealousy is not aroused when people are only eating the god's left-
[554] overs. This set of beliefs permits both self-indulgence and a means for validating one's social position in the community, i.e., the richer the food, the higher the status. For guests (especially poorer ones), there is an opportunity to eat rich foods and delicacies rarely experienced.

771 It will be demonstrated in Chapter IX that religion
805 also serves to regulate the divisions of time--yearly,
461 monthly, and daily and that much of the leisure time is
182 justified on a religious basis.

527 561 when they are celebrated, there is usually greater emphasis for those of a man. After the thirtieth, every tenth year will be celebrated in special ways as a ta sheng jih (big birthday).

561 527 805 886 The first big birthday party is at age 60,[5] called hsia shou (small longevity). As described in Chapter IX, the Chinese calendar has a cycle of 60 years. When one reaches age 60, he has completed an entire cycle and is starting over again so that every year after 60 is considered to be a gift of the gods. At age sixty, a man is expected to turn over control of the family to his sons and live as if on a pension but still contributing limited amounts of labor. Of course, there is often a disparity between chronological age and the level of physiological aging. Some men withdraw happily while others resist, but 527 886 a son should not press a reluctant father very hard. There will be a big sixtieth birthday party with many guests who each present a red envelope gift which contains an even amount of money sufficient to more than pay his share of the cost of the party. Local politicians will send cards of congratulations. A man without grandchildren will not have a big party and there will only be a family affair without many guests for a woman reaching sixty whether she has many grandchildren or not.

888 Old age[6] tends to be a pleasant period of life in the village. The aged have a lot of leisure and yet enjoy

4:Barnett E-4, 5 (1965-1967) 1970 · AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

CHAPTER IX

CYCLES IN TIME

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Time is subdivided into many different categories which play a significant part in structuring social life in Sanlei Ts'un. For certain kinds of divisions, adherence to which of two conflicting systems for reckoning time provides a key to evaluating the level of modernization achieved by an individual. For example, years are subdivided according to both a traditional lunar calendar and a modern Western solar calendar. Although farmers place prime emphasis on the lunar calendar, businessmen and urban dwellers rely on the solar calendar and both calendars are important for determining village activities.[1]

Another relationship between the level of modernization and the type of time system employed may be seen in the new emphasis on clocks. Clocks were unimportant in rural traditional Chinese villages and according to older informants, Sanlei Ts'un had no clocks when they were children. As late as 1950, there were still only a few clocks in the village. Currently, almost every village house has a clock and an electric clock in the kung t'ing has almost become a necessary status symbol in spite of the fact no member of

178 805 the household pays any attention to its time. Punctuality according to a clock is important for miners, factory workers, and those who work in town. For other villagers, only the bus and the school operate according to time scheduled by a clock but even then, the school bell and bus passage through the village ten minutes before leaving for town make the clock unnecessary.

805 822 The traditional Chinese conception of the passage of time in general is that time movement is cyclical. That is, time proceeds as if it were traveling down a corkscrew. Whatever is happening has happened before in the past and will happen again in the future. I have employed the analogy of a corkscrew rather than a closed circle because of the recognition that although events are individually unique, the general patterns are repeated.

In addition to this contrast with the American view of time as if it were passing along a straight line into infinity, there is a comparative long-range approach in opposition to the American short-range approach. Illiterate villagers are aware of events which occurred hundreds of years ago or at least an idealized reconstruction of the events and the memory of the events remain important factors 173 in decision processes in the village. For example, some 805 village family lines were said to have originated in Honan, emigrated to Fukien 500 years ago, and then to Taiwan 130 years ago. Other village family lines with the same surname

173 were said to have originated in Fukien and also emigrated
• 805 to Taiwan 130 years ago. Villagers carefully distinguish between the two lines. A member of a Honan-originated line can list all other lines in the area which also supposedly originated in Honan and most claim that those who came from Honan are more like each other than outsiders although I believe it to be nearly impossible for an outsider to detect any differences.

The biggest subdivisions of time are labled according to dynasties. A sequence of calendar years starts over again at the beginning of each new dynasty. Since the last dynasty was overthrown in 1911 when the Republic was established, years have been numbered in sequence since 1911 as year 1 in a manner similar to this traditional pattern. Within dynasties, there were also occasional references to the reign of particular emperors as a means for dating events, i.e., in the 16th year of the reign of the Emperor K'ang Hsi. No comparable phenomena is observed for the most recent period although this lack may be related to the relatively short perspective or to the dominance of Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung for such a long period in their respective spheres of influence.

The Sixty-Year Cycle (Chia Tzu)[2]

805 There is a system for naming years to be discussed below which generates sixty different terms and thus, a sixty year cycle. At the end of a sixty-year period, the

805 sequence is repeated. Completion of life through the entire
791 cycle is a primary factor supporting the stress on the six-
805 tieth birthday for any person who lives longer than a full cycle is considered to have been necessarily favored by the gods. This belief in god's favor applies to males and females alike. The sixty-year cycle results from the interaction between three sets of factors which are each a complex religious concept with exceedingly intricate complexities and ramifications. Although each will be discussed briefly below in turn, it must be realized that little more than a cursory examination is offered.

805 The first set is related to the Chinese view of the
812 world as if it were bipolar for not only does everything have its opposite, opposites are both necessary and complementary to each other. "These opposites tended to merge into each other and even to become each the opposite of its former self" (Thompson, 1969:3). One of these principles, yang, stands for activity, light, heat, dryness, hardness, and masculinity; the opposite, yin, for quiescence, cold, darkness, humidity, softness, and femininity (Bodde, 1951: 21).

812 The eternal interaction of the above two general
82 principles, the yin and the yang, produce the wu hsing (five
805 primary elements): fire, water, earth, wood, and metal (Bodde, 1951:21-2). The Chinese word hsing, which sinologues have usually translated as element, is actually a

805 812 82 verb meaning to walk, to go, to act and therefore, perhaps better translations of wu hsing might be the "five operational qualities" (Thompson, 1969:4) or the "five movers" or "five agents" (Carroll, 1963:8). Correlated with the five elements are a number of other five-members sets such as directions, notes, colors, tastes, odors, sacrifices, organs, etc. The five elements produce the t'ien kan (ten celestial stems), a yin and yang form of each element. It has been suggested that perhaps the ten celestial stems were once employed for counting the days of a ten-day week (Carroll, 1963:12), but if true, the knowledge has been lost in Sanlei Ts'un.

The third set of important categories are the ti chih (twelve terrestrial branches). There are also many correlations with the twelve branches and a number of twelve-member sets such as the compass points, tones of a quasichromatic scale, etc. (Carroll, 1963:13). However, the most popular correlation is with the twelve animals, in order: Rat, Ox, Tiger, Rabbit, Dragon, Snake, Horse, Sheep, Monkey, Cock, Dog, and Pig. The odd-numbered items are considered to be yang and the even-numbered, yin.

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"The chia-tsu cycle of sixty terms is made up by combining the stems and branches so that each of the yang (odd-numbered) stems occurs once with each of the yang branches and each of the yin (even-numbered) stems occurs once with each of the yin branches" (Carroll, 1963:16).

805 82

805 Every adult in the village could name the branch and stem
82 of the current year and most could immediately predict both for the following year. When asked to predict some year farther into the future, most adults could satisfactorily figure them out. The question usually produced a response set which featured recitation of a sequence while counting on the fingers. The two cycles of five and twelve were figured separately and then combined by adjusting the yin or yang form of the stem to agree with the branch in order to produce the name of the year.

805 Every villager, with the exception of very small chil-
825 dren, knew the animal (branch) associated with his birth and almost everyone also knew the stem (element). Older people were often not sure of either their ages or the year in which they were born, but their approximate age plus the name of the animal associated with their year of birth always allowed accurate discovery. When we later obtained official records, there were only a few discrepancies between the recorded age and the age computed by use of the animals. Each discrepancy could be explained with a story which claimed the official records were not correct. For example, one Sanlei man had been registered two years later than his actual birth because his father was with the bandits in the mountains. In each case, the "animal" designation was correct and the official registration was inaccurate.

805 787 There are similar pairs of two characters specifying the month, day, and hour of one's birth. The eight characters, pa tsu, thereby produced are employed in determining compatibility or incompatibility of persons about to be married,[3] and are also used in fortune-telling. However, most people in the village could not immediately recall their own eight characters although most said they could be figured out.

Calendars

805 178 527 There are two important calendars which function simultaneously in the village. The first is the standard Western calendar with which all readers are familiar. It has become more important in the past few years, especially for those employed in modern firms because work schedules and payrolls are based on the Western solar calendar. The only major events in the village area which are determined by this calendar are the national holidays such as Restoration Day, Independence Day, and Chiang Kai-shek's Birthday. Meetings of government agencies and dates for paying taxes are set according to this calendar too.

805 [796] The second calendar, the lunar, is the traditional form and is employed to determine the traditional religious holidays. Individual months are of 29 or 30 days duration, intermixed so that each new moon falls on the first day of a month. Months are simply numbered from one to twelve. Years are of unequal length, having either twelve or

805 thirteen months according to the year's position in a
[796] nineteen-year intercalation cycle (Carroll, 1963:4-5). The extra month is assigned the same number as the month immediately preceding it. Villagers would say, for example, that 1966 had two "third" months. Although religious holidays based on a monthly cycle would be celebrated during the extra month, those based on a yearly cycle would only be celebrated during the first of the duplicated months.

Because of the differing length of the months and the differing number of months in any one year, the lunar and solar calendars do not match. Lunar New Year commences sometime in January or February of the solar calendar. Without exception, villagers were all aware of the current date at any moment in time according to the lunar calendar. On the other hand, most villagers were not aware of the current date according to the solar calendar. The awareness of solar dates was related to structural factors. As would be expected, those who worked in businesses or factories as well as those who did business regularly in the city were more knowledgable and therefore, on the average, men were more aware of both kinds of dates than women.

The Yearly Religious Cycle

796 In traditional China, there was no custom of a five-day or six-day week followed by one or two days for rest and recreation. Nevertheless, an equivalent relief period was provided by the celebration of various religious

796 [178] Sanlei worship on one or the other pair of days regularly.

The worship activities on these days do not seriously interfere with the normal work activities but most farmers usually quit work a little early. The family will have a big dinner with rich food although guests are extremely rare. After dinner, there is a longer leisure time in the evening as compared with a normal day and instead of performing any constructive tasks, almost everyone just sits and chats.

The first of the monthly-cycled days of the year (the fifteenth day of the first month) and the last of the monthly-cycled days (the sixteenth day of the twelfth month) are major holidays.

The Weekly Cycle

177 178 527 [805] The growing importance of the week of seven days, Sunday in particular, is strong evidence of Westernization in Taiwan and its penetration into Sanlei Ts'un. There was a traditional ten-day week in China but few living villagers were aware of its details or operation. Almost every villager could quickly name the current day of the week according to the Western calendar when asked. Although there were no Christians in Talei Li according to villagers, Sunday has become a special day with greatly reduced productive work [369] activities. This is related to the fact that many business places are now closed on Sundays so the workers who live in the village stay home while many residents in the city

settlement, older informants had heard tales of the founding directly from the original migrants.

5 G. Myrdal explains that under British control, the petty officials at lower levels were usually members of the indigenous population and higher levels were British. There were also attempts to work through the previous political infrastructure. He contrasts this with the French rule in Vietnam where almost all levels were controlled by the French and therefore, had the highest ratio of foreign officials to indigenous citizens in the East (1968:123-4,187-9). L. Mair (1969:32) also stresses indirect rule as a general British policy in most colonial territories. Taiwan appears intermediate between the French and British extremes for almost all government officials were Japanese, but the traditional local infrastructure of political control continued to be important.

6 The pao chia system is based on a Chinese imperial edict in the eighteenth century but it is far from clear how it was applied for conflicting data exists from various areas (Freedman,1958:65). It appears to be a system of units organized in hierarchal order to maintain control. In Taiwan under the Japanese, it functioned as follows: each chia (family or household) had a chia chang (head) who was responsible for the actions of its members. About ten contiguous chia were combined into lin headed by a lin chang (neighborhood leader) who was selected by a process of consensus and held responsible for the lin. About ten lin were combined into pao with an elected or appointed pao chang (head or mayor) responsible for communicating and carrying out government programs. Each pao consisted of about 100 chia. Since there were more than 150 chia in Talei Li, it was split into two pao.

7 The average rate for all Europe is about 10 and for North America, just over 9 (United Nations Demographic Yearbook,1966:103). The lower rate in Taiwan is primarily due to its relatively young population.

8 Early in the Twentieth century, flour was sacked in colorful cotten bags as a sales promotion device in the United States. The material was salvaged to make clothes which were very similar to underclothes now worn in Taiwan in terms of color and patterns.

Chapter III: The Economic Base

[192] 1 P'eng lai and tsai lai are both generic names for a large set of sub-varieties.

2 To facilitate comprehension, all dates in this chapter are furnished according to the Western solar calendar. [805] The lunar calendar is extremely important for village affairs and is considered in Chapter IX.